

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO CONSULTATIONS

REF: USNATO 803; USNATO 852

1. IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH DEPTOFF, FRG AND NORWEGIAN EMBASSY MINISTERS RAISED ISSUE OF FRENCH PERMREP DE ROSE'S FEBRUARY 13 NAC INTERVENTION ON NATO CONSULTATIONS (USNATO 852). BOTH INDICATED CONCERN ABOUT THE RESTRICTIVE INTERPRETATION EXPOUNDED BY DE ROSE WITH REGARD TO NATO PRACTICE OF CONSULTATIONS ON PROBLEMS ARISING OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. THE NORWEGIAN MINISTER SPECIFICALLY SUGGESTED THAT VIEWS ADVANCED BY DE ROSE COULD FORESHADOW FRENCH EFFORTS TO WATER-DOWN NATO CONSULTATIONS, AS FRENCH STRIVE TO FURTHER DEVELOP CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE EC

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NINE.

2. WE, TOO, HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING DE ROSE'S STATEMENT, AND WE CONCLUDE THAT FRENCH INDEED APPEAR TO BE ATTEMPTING TO INTRODUCE AT LEAST UNILATERAL RESTRICTIONS ON SUBJECTS ON WHICH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN NATO, AS CONTRASTED WITH THOSE ON WHICH ONLY AN EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION IS PRACTICABLE. THIS IS ILLUSTRATED BY DE ROSE'S ASSERTION THAT, "WHEN ARTICLES 4 THROUGH 6 BRACKETS OF NAT END BRACKETS DO NOT APPLY, IE., IN

GENERAL FOR PROBLEMS ARISING OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA, IT CAN ONLY BE A MATTER OF INFORMING AND IT IS UP TO THE RESPONSIBLE COUNTRY TO EVALUATE WHAT IT CAN AND MUST SAY TO ITS ALLIES ON A PARTICULAR MATTER OF IMPORTANCE." HE WENT ON TO SUGGEST THAT IT WOULD BE -GIVING WAY TO ILLUSION IF WE WERE TO HOPE TO CHANGE THE CUSTOM OF PROVIDING INFORMATION INTO AN OBLIGATION, NOT FORESEEN BY THE TREATY, OF CONSULTATION PRIOR TO TAKING ACTION, JUST AS GIVING CONSULTATION A MORE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OVER A BROADER AREA WOULD BE."

3. THIS POSITION CONTRASTS, IN OUR VIEW, MARKEDLY WITH PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE HARMEL REPORT, WHICH STATES: "THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AREA CANNOT BE TREATED IN ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. CRISES AND CONFLICTS ARISING OUTSIDE THE AREA MAY IMPAIR ITS SECURITY EITHER DIRECTLY OR BY AFFECTING THE GLOBAL BALANCE. ALLIED COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTE INDIVIDUALLY WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO THE SOLUTION OF IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. IN ACCORDANCE WITH ESTABLISHED USAGE THE ALLIES OR SUCH OF THEM AS WISH TO DO SO WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO CONSULT ON SUCH PROBLEMS WITHOUT COMMITMENT AND AS THE CASE MAY DEMAND."

4. WHILE DE ROSE BOWS IN THE DIRECTION OF THE HARMEL REPORT, BY CITING PARAGRAPH 7, THAT PARAGRAPH ESSENTIALLY (A) STATES THE ALLIES ARE NOT OBLIGED TO SUBORDINATE THEIR POLICIES TO COLLECTIVE DECISION, (B)

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RECOGNIZES THE UTILITY OF THE ALLIANCE AS A FORUM FOR EXCHANGING VIEWS, AND (C) EMPHASIZES, BY JUXTAPOSITION AT LEAST, THE NEED FOR DEEPENED AND IMPROVED CONSULTATIONS ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO PROMOTING IMPROVED EAST-WEST RELATIONS. HOWEVER, BY IGNORING PARAGRAPH 15, DE ROSE'S STATEMENT OVERLOOKS THE IMPORTANT ALLIED AGREEMENT IN 1967 THAT CRISES AND CONFLICTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA ALSO CAN IMPACT ON ALLIED SECURITY CONCERNS. THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARAGRAPH 15 SHOWS THAT THE FRENCH ACCEPTED IT

ONLY AFTER THE MOST ARDUOUS DEBATE, BUT IT REMAINS  
NONETHELESS PART OF NATO'S "CONSTITUTIONAL" HISTORY,  
AND REPRESENTS A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE EVOLUTION  
OF ALLIED CONSULTATIONS.

5. WE LEAVE TO YOUR DISCRETION THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY  
OF ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE IN AN EARLY DISCUSSION AMONG  
THE PERMREPS AND LUNS. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD  
UNDERLINE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PARAGRAPH 15 OF

THE HARMEL REPORT AS AGREED ALLIED BASIS FOR CONSULTA-  
TIONS ON DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA. YOU  
ALSO SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT WE DO NOT WISH TO PROVOKE  
A CONFRONTATION WITH THE FRENCH ON THIS ISSUE, SINCE  
PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE HARMEL REPORT CLEARLY LEAVES THE  
BROADEST LATITUDE FOR NATIONAL PAR  
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